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# The Sogdian Texts of Paris

By W. B. HENNING

IT would be a happier occasion to be able to announce the completion of the publication of all the Sogdian manuscripts that Sir Aurel Stein and M. Paul Pelliot secured from the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" at Tun-huang, were not this consummation overshadowed by the death of P. Pelliot, who has now followed Sir Aurel Stein after so brief an interval. The Sogdian MSS., which he entrusted to the care of the Bibliothèque Nationale, were believed lost for a number of years, but rediscovered by M. Filliozat in 1936. We cannot but admire the speed with which M. Benveniste has made them available to the public. As early as the spring of 1940 photographic reproductions of superb quality were published by Ejnar Munksgaard in Copenhagen<sup>1</sup>; a few copies of this facsimile edition reached this country before communications were interrupted. A few weeks later M. Benveniste's monumental edition,<sup>2</sup> comprising the transliteration, an excellent translation, a commentary of greatest learning which abounds in veritable pearls of linguistic notes,<sup>3</sup> and a very full glossary which will make the publication of a Sogdian dictionary nearly superfluous, appeared in Paris, too late, however, for us to obtain the book; we had to curb our impatience until at long last, in September, 1945, we received this immensely valuable volume, through the kindness of the author and the good offices of the British Council.

The majority of these Sogdian manuscripts contain Buddhist texts, mostly translated from Chinese originals. For their identification we are indebted to M. Demiéville, whose collaboration has greatly benefited the edition. Of the non-Buddhist texts special mention is due to the fragment of the *Tale of Rustam* (P 13), which immediately precedes the fragment in the Stein collection<sup>4</sup>; the small medical fragment (P 19) which contains three prescriptions, one each for an emetic (*'nyyznykh*), a purgative (*mrznykh*),<sup>5</sup> and an aphrodisiac (*cnn pcw'z'k pδβ'zn*); and the twice repeated short Manichæan<sup>6</sup> invocation,

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris*, ed. K. Grønbech. Vol. iii, *Codices Sogdiani. Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Mission Pelliot), reproduits en fac-similé, avec une introduction par E. Benveniste.*

<sup>2</sup> *Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, série in-quarto, vol. iii, Textes Sogdiens, édités, traduits et commentés par E. Benveniste.* P. Geuthner, 1940.

<sup>3</sup> A worthy specimen of their quality is the explanation of ἀκράκης (p. 202).

<sup>4</sup> See *BSOAS.*, XI, 465, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In translation: "Take three drams of cummin (*zyr'kk*), three of *Ipomœa turpethum*, and three times as much sugar as (both) those drugs together. Pound it finely, mix it with hydromel, give it to drink. It purges all impurities, is useful in all illnesses. Should it purge too much, drink *pt'pch*, it will cease." *δρυμδnk* = *δραχμηθang* corresponds to Persian *diramsang*. *kpčky* in line 7 is "spoonful" (= Pers. *kafče*); *βtskpyc* (8) = Skt. *vatsakabija*; *wšny'spy* (20) = stallion (Pers. *gušn*); *my't* (9) read *my'wn*.

<sup>6</sup> Not recognized as such by the editor. It belongs to the *Wazrgān āfrīwan*: cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 71.

P 25, a learner's first attempt at writing Sogdian, full of mistakes.<sup>1</sup> The shamanist rain-maker's handbook, P 3, a Central Asian rather than Indian production, contains a number of Iranian terms not found in Buddhist texts, as *Upāpō Gandarawō*,<sup>2</sup> *Haft Kišvar*, *wāt artāw*, etc., and mentions such typically Central Asian objects of magic as the rain-stones,<sup>3</sup> sheep's shoulder-blade,<sup>4</sup> etc. Of great value is the colophon of P 8, with its long lists of personal names. In view of the interest that attaches to everything connected with the "Tokharians", it should be pointed out that the name of the painter<sup>5</sup> of P 26 is not *twryrk* "Tokharian", but *twryrl* = *Toyril* (a common Turkish name).

The impossibility of obtaining M. Benveniste's admirable work compelled a careful study of the photographic reproductions; with his edition on one's table one would have considered it a waste of time to take a copy of the photographs. What was a nuisance in the past can now be turned to some profit; for the circumstances assure a greater independence in the reading of the MSS. than could have been attained otherwise. It may thus seem not wholly useless to record those passages where my reading or understanding differ from M. Benveniste's. The intention of going through the whole of these texts had to be abandoned, for personal reasons, for the time being; it is hoped to complete this study in a later number of the *Bulletin*.<sup>6</sup>

## P 2

Of all Sogdian texts this is the dullest. Its author needs over 1,200 lines to tell us that we should not eat meat. It is badly composed, worse translated, and the scribe was negligent.

<sup>1</sup> 'nyw (ZY) nyk in both copies stands for 'BYW (ZY) ny'k. In both read *rštw* instead of *nštw*. In ii, line 2, read *zrw*, line 3 *rwyšnt*; "bryty 'yš at the end is a mistake for "brytyt "... to the King of Gods, the Great King God Zrwān, who is the father and grandfather of all Light Gods. Praised and blessed art thou, together with the great Light World, (and) the Blessed Aions."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *BSOAS.*, XI, 482, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 465, n. 2. The "yadēi" (read *yadaēi*) of the Uygur confession prayers is a rain-stone magician rather than a snake-charmer, cf. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 84 and note; Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, iv, 438, line 60.

<sup>4</sup> See below on P 3, 273.

<sup>5</sup> Read *nypysw* = "I painted" in the place of *nypyšw*.

<sup>6</sup> Of articles, etc., concerning Sogdian that were published in Europe during war-time, the following have come to our notice: A. A. Freiman, *Novaya rabota po sogdiyskomu kalendarju*, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 4 (9), 1939, 124; *Sogdiyskiy rukopisniy dokument na kože 6 B 5 iz sobraniya dokumentov s gorī Mugh*, *ibid.*, 1 (10), 1940, 99-101 [note *srtyy'n* or *sytyy'n pwt* in line 5, read *mrtwy'k* by Freiman, = "pieces of morocco leather" = Pers. *saxtiyān*]. O. Hansen, *Berliner soghdische Texte, i, Bruchstücke einer soghdischen Version der Georgspassion (C 1), Abh. P.A.W.*, 1941, No. 10, here quoted as *Giwarḡis*; Dr. Dresden kindly presented me with a copy. M. J. Dresden, *Bibliographia sogdiana concisa, Jaarbericht No. 8 van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden, 1942, 729-734, to which should be added: A. A. Freiman, *Sogdiyskiy nadpis' iz starogo Merva*, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 1937, 296-302; *Sogdiyskiy rukopisniy dokument astrologičeskogo soderžaniya (kalendar')*, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 2 (3), 1938, 34-49 (cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 242); *K imeni sogdiyskogo ižšida Gureka*, *ibid.*, 3 (4), 1938, 147 sq.; and my paper in *Orientalia*, viii, 1939, 87-95.

1. *wys'* probably 3rd Sing. Impf. of *wys-* "to be released, emitted", inchoative of *w'c-*, *wyt-*.

3. *prš'yδ-* "to settle down, lodge" ("and piety does not settle on him"), cf. *Tales*<sup>1</sup> 475, line 12. Chr. *pšyd'r-* *S.T.*, i, 52, 10. *pa(r)šīδ-* from *pari.hīda-*.

4. *nβ'nt nβ'nt* "successivement". So also 168, 1206, *Dhuta* 132, cf. *nβ'nt pyš nβ'nt* "en succession" *Dhyāna* 383. I now prefer reading *nβ'nt*, and take it to be the same word as the postposition *nβ'nt*: "attached, near, close, companion." Man. *zβnd* seems to mean "quarrel", cf. *Tales* 470.

4. *ZY* here merely stresses the preceding word, hence *nwšy* = perpetually (M.B. "crime"). For such use of *ZY* ('t, 'PZY) see lines 54, 112, 132, 143, 165, 208, 218, 240, 309, 359, 408, 433, 606, 855, 898, 964, 966, 1068; cf. also *BBB.*, 121<sup>a</sup>.

13. M. Benveniste wants to connect the conjunction *mnt*, apparently = "while", with the negative prefix *mnt-* (see his comments on P 9, 96). This seems doubtful. I should like to mention here that Professor F. W. Thomas suggested to me that the Sogdian prefix (pronounced *mand*) could be combined with Skt. *manda-*, as in *mandabuddhi*, *mandamati*, *mandabhāgya*, etc.

35. *δm'k* "wind"? Cf. *SCE*. 153. *δm'kh'rsy* P 3, 12, recalls Uyğur *šš ig yilgä . . .* (*T.T.*, vii, 72, line 9).

36. *'spynmwh* may be a mistake for *'spymwh* = *'spymh* P 7, 61, "tumor", from *spāy-* = Skt. *śvayati*.

37. *'rsy*, also P 3, 12, but spelt *'rs'ny* P 3, 10, 11, is *arsa(n)χ* from OIr. *\*arsah-* = Skt. *arśas-* "piles".

38. *kr'γ* I took for Skt. *grāha*, but *kr'ny* P 22, 19, is difficult; one can hardly think of Pers. *karaχ* "numb(ness)". *γwrt-snty* is "vomiting", cf. P 8, 126, and *'nyyz-* P 19, 5.

45. *ctβ'r mγ'pwydy*, also 366. M. Benveniste gives "*les 4 mahābodhis*", but does not explain this unusual term. It seems that the *elements* are meant, which number either four or five, viz. earth, water, fire, air, and sometimes ether. Hence = *catvāri mahābhūtāni* as in *Mahāvvyutpatti* 101, 1 (but *pañca m.*, e.g. *Dharmasaṃgraha* 39).

53. *zβ'yr'kh* and the related forms discussed in comm. on P 13, 8, should be read *nβ'yr-* as unpublished Man. texts spell *nβyr-*. The meaning seems to be "counsel". In P 12, 64, 67, *nβ'yr* is imperative, "take counsel with your friends, etc.", *prw nβ'yr* "in order to consult, deliberate".

57. *'pw* is perhaps to be read *'kw* = in what way (lit. "where"). Cf. 104, 621, and the comm. p. 170.

59. *'zy'm* should be read *'ny'm*, and similarly *'ny'mt-*, *'ny'ms-* "to be finished", as these words are spelt with *-n-* in unpublished Man. texts. They should be confused with neither *zy'm-* "to spend", *zy'ms-* "to be spent, wasted", nor *nyms-* "to be caught" [*sic*] P 2, 858, "to be eclipsed" P 6, 147 (here edition *nyms-*) which has *nymt-* as past tense.

<sup>1</sup> *Tales* = *BSOAS.*, XI, 465–487. *Kawān* = *BSOAS.*, XI, 52–74. *Gershevitch* with paragraph = I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (to be published soon).

75. *ʿrwš'ntk* is hardly the same as Man. *ʿxwšndyy* (on which see now *Tales*, 470, n. 4). “If he keeps the spirit of friendship . . . growing”? Cf. *z'wrkyn* *δ'rt* line 78.

80. *mr'z*. Is it not clear from the context that the word *Arbeit* in *BBB.*, 67, means “*travail (salaire) pour quelqu'un*”? See also *Tales*, 468, nn. 6, 9.

91. *'kwδprm* probably = as long as, however long (instead of “wherever”). Cf. also *Tales*, 476, line 4.

95. *šwt* instead of *šw'nt* is the translator's mistake. “In waylessness they walk the path of the Nirvāṇa straightly” = “although the way is invisible, they find the true path unerringly”.

109. *ptk'wnh ryzh*, lit. “wrong, perverted desires”. The original meaning of *ptk'wn-*, which has nothing to do with Av. *kavi-* (as claimed by H. H. Schaeder and M. Benveniste, cf. *JRAS.*, 1933, 55), is “upside-down”, cf. Pers. *nigūn*, etc. An interesting example of the word is contributed by Ibn Khurdādbih 284 and Qudāmāh 205<sup>1</sup>, who tell us that there was a ماء مقلوب *fleuve rétrograde* between *Ispējāb* and *Ṭarāz* whose local name was ركبواب, read بدكوناب = *padkūn-āb* = *ptk'wn-*“*ph*”. It was formed by “the thousand springs” (cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 24, 263), ارحاح or ارحاح, evidently to be read زارخاخ = *zār-χāχ* (*z'r x'x*).

139. *rwš-* “to flow” is -s- enlargement of (*h*)*rav-* = Skt. *sravati*. But *pr'wšt* P 7, 139, appears to belong to *pr'wyz-* P 12, 48, both from *frā* + *vaz-* (or *parā* + *vaz-*).

141/2. *nyδ'yeh-ptn'ym* compound adjective, “good-for-nothing, *vaut-rien*”?

144. *prn'nt*, also 213, is 3rd Sing. (*snks'r* is subject). Almost certainly to be read *prn'z-t*, cf. *n'z-* below 292.

151. *γwtm* “parent”. The derivation from OIr. *tauxma(n)-* (not, of course, from Sogdian *tym-*) is supported by the meanings of Av. *taoxman-* 2, MPers. *twhmg* (Salemān, *Man. Stud.*, 127), Parth. *twxmg* (*Mir.Man.*, iii), etc. There are three distinct words in Parthian: *twxm* “descendants, family, etc.”, *twxmn* “seed (for sowing)”, *twxmg* “relative”. On the etymology of *γwtm* *γwšt'k* see *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 4.

162. *zynyh-γw'ry* I took to be a compound word = “truce-breaker”, comparing Pers. *zinhār-χ'ār* “truce-breaker”; for Pers. *zinhār*, earlier *zīnihār* (in verse always -~-, hence not *zīnhār*), is connected with Sogd. *zynyh*, cf. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, 93. The original meaning of the Sogdian thus could be “he that eats what is entrusted to him”, cf. *ptrq'n-xw'r* “heir”, lit. “he that eats his heritage”. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 73, n. 3, attributes this *-xw'r* to a root *hvar-* “to receive”, but cf. Arabic *akala 'l-mīrāth* “to inherit, lit. to eat the heritage” (see Dozy, i, 31). However, we have to take into account the obviously identical Parthian term *zyn'yy xw'rg*, which occurs once in an unpublished Manichæan hymn, M 284, 156: *bst hym pt pdyn zynd'n, zyn'yy xw'rg 'by'wš u xwmryn* “I am fettered in a prison of flesh, *zyn'yy xw'rg*, unconscious, and asleep” (cf., e.g., *NGGW.*, 1932,

219 sqq.; *Mir.Man.* iii, 872, 874–5). This *xw'rg* may belong to Pers. *χ'ār* “abject, contemptible”; hence *-γw'ry* may be the same as Sogd. *γwy'r* (see below on 554) ?

165. *δ'n'ych wyγh* = roots of corn. In 1020 *δ'n'ych* is not followed by *wyγh*. Hence, *δānīc* = the plant that bears *δān*- (grain).

180. *rtyWR*, read *rty-wr*. The ideogram ‘*R* = Arsac. Inscr. ‘*L* = Pahl. ‘*L* (“*WL*”) occurs only in the addresses of the “Ancient Letters”; its Iranian equivalent is ‘*t* (see the Mugh letters). I do not know why ‘*R* is always being confused with *wr*. In Anc. Lett., ii, both words occur, ‘*R* in line 1, *wr* in lines 36, 37. A glance at Reichelt’s facsimile will show how little they resemble one another. In his *Glossaire* M. Benveniste gives “*WR sur, à (passim)*”. In fact, *wr* is not a preposition; nor is it met with continually; nor is there a reason why it should be regarded as ideogram. It occurs only at the beginning of a clause and is generally preceded by *rty* or a word to which *ZY* is attached (as *ZKZY*, ‘*HRZY*); it means “there, therein, thereby”. Cf. *VJ.*, 194, 19<sup>b</sup>; *Vim.* 139; P 2, 270, 322; also in *Man.* (Sogd. script) *rty 'skw'yn'yty kyZY wr skw'nt* “and the inhabitants who live there” (T ii K 178). Thus *wr* = *war* from OIr. *awar* should be added to the words which H. S. Nyberg discussed in his interesting article “Un pseudo-verbe iranien et son équivalent grec” (*Symbolæ Philologicæ* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatæ, 1932, 237–261). Cf. also Parthian ‘*wr*, *Mir.Man.*, iii (on Pers., i, 5, cf. Nyberg, p. 244; see also *BSOS.*, IX, 845).

184. *wγnh* “famine” is surely the Avestan *vōiγnā-* (both are fem.), which Geldner thought meant “inundation”; but “famine” seems to fit the Avestan texts just as well. Such shortening of a diphthong seems to occur only after *w-*, cf. *wštm'x* from \**waišt-* from *wahišt-*, *wp'ne'k* against MPers. *panjak-i wēh* (*Orientalia*, viii, 90, n. 2); Pashto *wala* from *waiti-*, *χwala* from *χwaida-* (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 86, 98). As a matter of curiosity we may mention that Stig Wikander, to whom we owe already the discovery of the “arischen Männerbünde”, has now satisfied himself that *vōiγnā-* is a *Bezeichnung für das Kollektiv von Anhängern Aēšma-artiger Kulte* (*Vayu*, i, Uppsala, 1941, 140–151, esp. p. 150).

187. (ə)βžay- or (ə)βžay- is the intransitive of əβžāw-, hence from \**abi.žuya-*. Cf. MPers. ‘*bzw-*: ‘*bz'y-*, Pers. *afzūyīdan* intrans. (*Mathnawī*, i, 3873 comm., cf. *Farhang-i Rašīdī*, ii, 104) beside *afzāy-* trans.

193. *p'r'yk-* “other” cannot be derived from *pr'yc-*. It is directly = MPers. ‘*b'ryg*, Pahl. ‘*p'ryk* (Av., Skt. *apara-*), and distinct from *pr'yk-* “remainder”.

193. *pr'wyy* should be *le ministre-maitre de ce roi, le brahmane nommé Mauvaise Langue* (comm., p. 171). Hence, corruption of Skt. *purohita*. Cf. Saka *pūhī* Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 134, probably also *pūhyā* in the colophon of the Jātakastava (cf. Bailey, *Jour. Greater India Soc.*, xi, 10).

200. ‘*sp'δyh* is not clear. The spelling of βž'ysty is curious (cf. Gershevitch, § 263). The construction of βžyaθ- is different in all other passages. Read <*pr*> ‘*spyh* ?



203/6. “The Buddha was still living at that time, but this (fact) did not help those people not to become subjected to that action,” i.e. the effect of the evil deed was stronger even than the power of the Buddha.

224. *wyš* “herb, grass” (here inadvertently *feuille*, but see *Glossaire*) from *wāstrya-*, cf. Yaghnobi *wēš*, Pashto *wāṣə*, Wakhi *wiš*, Parth. *w’s*, etc. To compare Sogdian *wēš* with Middle Persian *bēš* “aconite”, as is done by P. J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumānik-Vičār*, p. 216 (on xv, 84), shows lack of acquaintance with the basic phonological structure of either language.

237. *ptβydy* is correct, but the MS. has *ptyβydy*. *P’rZY* = “but rather” after a negation. “He does not regard it as a damaging action, but rather takes it for a satisfying one.”

241. *nw’rsty*, cf. Man. *nw’rt*, *BBB.*, p. 82. “Everyone . . . and should not hire (anyone) for evil deeds so that, out of poverty, they (= the employees) will kill. Since he gains profit thereby (*wδ’y*), he cannot be dissociated, etc.”

272/6. *wrm’ycyh* = surf (Av. *varəmi-*) ? *wβ’ntk* = snare = Parth. *wbndg*, *Tales*, 471, n. 4 (see also below on P 5, 24). *’r’β* = flame = Turki *alav* (Pers. *ālāv*) ?

280. *δryh* locative of *δr-* “ravine, glen” = Parthian *dr*, Wakhi *δōr*, etc. ?

292. *z’nt* read *n’zt*, “his eyes . . . roll.” See *BBB.*, p. 94 (on b 60; add *Dhyāna* 401), and cf. *prn’z-* above 144.

295. *γwyst* not “he trembles”, but “he sweats”, from *γwys-* = Av. *x’visa-*.

296. *γwn’k*. M. Benveniste rightly translates *poil* and refers to Av. *gaona-*. Lentz (apud Lüders, *Textilien*, 9, n. 3) wanted to read *γwž’y* in *SCE.*, 302, instead of *γwn’y*. That he erred is made evident by Man. *γwn’yy* (*sic*, cf. the ending in the *SCE.*), M 141 V 13 (Man. script). There the word stands in one of those “series” of which Lentz made a special study and corresponds to MPers. *mwy* “hair”:—

<i>MPers.</i>	<i>MPers.</i>	<i>MPers.</i>	<i>Copt.</i>	<i>Sogd.</i>	<i>Uyy.</i>	<i>Chin.</i>	<i>Pahl.</i>
<i>MM. i</i> , 195. <i>T ii D ii</i> 120.		<i>Ti</i> , 5.	<i>Keph.</i> 96 (107).	<i>M</i> 141.	<i>TM. iii</i> 18/9.	<i>Tr.</i> 32/3.	<i>GrBd.</i> 196.
' <i>stg</i> 1	' <i>stg</i> 1	—	<i>Knochen</i> 1(2)	' <i>stkyy</i> 1	<i>sōngük</i> 1	<i>os</i> 1	<i>astag</i> 4
<i>py(y)</i> 2	<i>py</i> 3	<i>py</i> 5	<i>Sehne</i> 2(3)	<i>pδδw'</i> 2	<i>singir</i> 2	<i>nerfs</i> 2	<i>pai</i> 3
<i>pyt</i> 3	[ <i>pyt</i> ]	<i>pyt</i> 2	<i>Fleisch</i> 4(4)	<i>y'ty</i> 4	<i>āt</i> 4	<i>chair</i> 4	<i>gōšt</i> 1
<i>rg</i> 4	<i>rg</i> 4	<i>rg</i> 3	<i>Ader</i> 3(5)	<i>r'k</i> 3	<i>tamar</i> 3	<i>veines</i> 3	<i>rag</i> 2
<i>crm</i> 5	<i>crm</i> 6	<i>crm</i> 1	<i>Haut</i> 5(7)	<i>crm</i> 5	<i>tāri</i> 5	<i>peau</i> 5	—
—	<i>xwn</i> 5	<i>xwn</i> 4	<i>Blut</i> (6)	<i>xwrnyy</i> 6	—	—	<i>xūn</i> 6
—	<i>mgj</i> 2	—	<i>Mark</i> (1)	<i>mzyzyy</i> 7	—	—	<i>mazy</i> 5
—	<i>mwy</i> 7	—	—	<i>γwn'y</i> 8	—	—	<i>mūy</i> 7

299. *pš’ycykh myn’y w’st*, possibly “he lets water”. Hence, *w’st* from *w’c-* and *myn’y* = *myz’y* (Av. *maēz-*, Pers. *mīz*, etc.), while the first word is not clear (from *pšync-* ? or cf. Pers. *pēšyār* ? or if co-ordinated with *myz’y*, cf. *pšy* P 7, 166, for the meaning, and *pšcyk*, Dhuta 281, for the form).

300. *γwwnky*. Man. *γxwng* (*Sogdica* 31<sup>7</sup>, 35<sup>4-8</sup>) = “the act of separating” does not seem to share the meaning of *γxw’q* = “the product of separating”. Hence, “by the various acts of dissecting” ? It is, however, possible that *γwwnky γwwnky* is a copyist’s mistake for *γw’nk(y) γw’nky* “articulation”

(SCE., 384, see Gershevitch, § 220), perhaps produced by *yγw'y'n* in the next line.

313. Read *ptywštwd'rm* in the place of *-st-*. *δβnh* here = suspicion. Translating it as “doubt” produces a version that reverses the meaning of the text. “I have not seen that it was killed, I have not heard it, I do not suspect that it was killed (viz. for me).” See Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i, 55.

326. *rnβ-* “to attack” compares with Parth. *rf-* and Saka *rraph-*. But *rnp-*, *VJ.*, 1094 = “to abuse, curse”.

331/2. *γwnγw ZKZY cuz'kk ZK mryγ znty* (thus to be read instead of *γty*) = “that which the chicken-bird brings forth”, viz. the object called *mryγ-z'tk* elsewhere, which is *né de la poule* but not *né de l'œuf* as M. Benveniste has it (p. 173; Pers. *murγe* is of doubtful authority, but *murγāne* occurs). *zn-* seems to be *enfanter* only, hardly also *naître* as M. B. assumes for 334.

338. “in the Sūtras expounded to the Yakṣas in the ocean”? We note in passing that *y'γš* in the fragment published by M. Benveniste in *BSOS.*, IX, 501, is merely part of a Yakṣa's name, but not the word *yakṣa* itself, which follows *n'm* in line 1, *yk[šy]*.

344. *ružya* “greed”, cf. *Sogdica*, 47; Gershevitch, § 379. For the treatment of *-zd-* in Sogdian, *γztwq* “saliva” is of interest. I wrongly rejected this spelling in *S.T.*, ii, 604. It is, however, becoming clear now that original *-zd-* (between vowels) may become *-d-*, later *-y-*, in Persian. Sogd. *γazdūk* is related to Pers. *ḡayū* (*ḡadū*) precisely as Av. *pazdu-* is to Pers. *payū(k)* “*Filaria Medinensis*” (against *pazūk* in Pahlavi).

359. *mry'wnk y'tk*. Compare the similar accounts in *GrBd.*, 16, 109 sqq., where the equivalent stage is described as *daštak* (?) which I ventured to explain as “a little plain” (*Sogdica* 49). See also *DkM.*, 746, where the same word occurs in line 11, *kay dēsīhistan-i abar daštak* “when (does) the formation (of the limbs) on the *daštak* take place”. Mr. R. C. Zaehner, some years ago, drew my attention to Burzōi's discourse on procreation, in the preface to *Kalīla wa Dimna*. There we have *ar-rā'ib ath-thaḥīn al-ghalīz*, p. 72<sup>3</sup>, ed. de Sacy = thick coagulated milk (Naṣrullāh simply *māst*). With this compare *GrBd.*, 110<sup>11</sup> (*tuχm-i narān ud χūn-i māyagān*) *šīr [ud] plwšk homānāg* “like milk and *frušag*” (resulting in coagulated milk). This *frušag*, a curdling substance, recurs in *Pahl. Texts*, 113<sup>6</sup> *šīr ud panīr . . . (plwšk =) afrušag ud māst*, and in *Kawān*, a 179, “threw (put) *prwšg* into milk,” where, as well as in *BSOS.*, IX, 86, I unfortunately thought of Pers. *farūše*, Arm. *hrušak*, etc., a kind of sweetmeats. However, *frušag* (*afrušag*) is evidently the same as Pers. *furše*, Pashto *wuržə* “beestings”. An interesting dialect-form has been preserved by Ibn Muḥannā, who has *هَرْشِه*, read *hurše*, with *hr-* from *fr-* (p. 51).

388. M. Benveniste justly points out that *zwtk* is not “wine” but *boisson alcoolique* (his other translation, *alcool*, is better avoided). It corresponds to Skt. *madya*, e.g. in line 664 *zwtk ZY y'tk* = *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 258<sup>13</sup> *māmsamadyādi*. Its Chinese equivalent in *SCE.* means “spirit, wine, liquor”.



On the other hand it is not a general term for “intoxicating drink”, as that meaning is always expressed in Sogdian by *mstk'r'k cš'nt*; a phrase like *mδw 'PZY zwtk* in the line under review strongly suggests that *zwtk* is a term for a special kind of drink, presumably the Sogdian variety of “beer”. May not Sogdian *zūte* be the same word as Greek *ζῦτος* (*ζύτος*), *ζῦθος* (Lat. *zythum*, Syriac *zwtyñ*, *zwtwš*) ? The Greek word, first employed by Theophrastus, is common in papyri from the third century B.C. onwards, but its origin, reputedly Egyptian, is I believe not settled. It is not likely that the Sogdian was borrowed from the Greek or vice versa, but both words may have a common origin, possibly in some Scythian language. Cf. the case of *ἀκινάκης*: *kyn'k*.

407. “and obtains an opportunity against him (*šw prw*) quicker.” The construction is the same as in *Vim.*, 149, where *'yty* is a misspelling of *'ty* (= *'kwZY*), cf. *'ky 'ty* P 2, 1005, etc.

411. “and much later still he is afraid and trembles.” *šyr* is necessarily adverb (*šyr γyr*, with *pyštrw*, in 446), and *pckwyr-* does not need an object.

416. “and to him it (= his food) becomes quickly indigestible.” *γ'm* = undigested, indigestible, as Skt. *āma*, *ᾠμος*, *crudus*, etc.

459. *ty-*, if from *\*taha-*, perhaps = river = Pashto *tōe*. Cf. Pashto *sōe* from *saha-*.

501. *βγδ'n'k pršt'yt* (comm., p. 176), cf. Uyγur (*yaγışliγ*) *tängirliγ it-*, *T.T.*, iv, 436, line 46; *yaγış* corresponds to Sogd. *δr'wš'ycyk 'st'wr* (540), cf. now Chr. *žwšy* (Giwargis). The incomplete word *kwδβγδ'nyy*, *Sogdica*, 56, line 19 (cf. *Errata*) may contain *βγδ'n'k*. The village (if it ever existed) which gave its name to Baghdād may have been called *Baydān* originally (cf. *بغدان*, *مغدان*, etc.); which would agree well with Arm. *Bagaran*.

527. *δ't* was already known from *Dhyāna*, 325 (*δ'tth*). It was borrowed by Persian as *lād* (Asadi, etc.), and should be added to the words collected in *BSOS.*, X, 93 sqq. Instead of *š'y* it seems we should read *šβy*, which, if correct, could be *\*šfi* from Av. *fšā(biš)*.

544. “the town is broken and \*conquered” ? *'nyw'yt* here passive, as e.g. *VJ.*, 6<sup>b</sup>. Also *wn'y'k škr-* (548) may mean “to lead away as conquered”. Presumably from *wan-* “to gain a victory”.

554. *γwy'r*, Chr. *xwy'r* (B 49, 13, and Giwargis A 30). A comparison of all passages shows that it means “easily”. M. Benveniste, too, sometimes gives *facilement* in his translation, but otherwise *exactement, en détail*. Cf. also *Tales k 2*. Confirmation is desirable for the expression *xwy'ry' wntysq* “verachtet”, quoted by Lentz *apud BBB.*, 81. Probably = “he takes lightly”. This makes one think of Pers. *χ'ār*, in spite of the obvious phonetical difficulties. Cf. also *γw'ry* above, on line 162.

597. *pc'wp-* “to exchange”, instead of *\*pcywp-* ? Cf. *pcywfs-* “to be changed, transformed”, *S.T.*, i, 16<sup>a</sup>; B 49, 8; see also *BBB.*, p. 63 on 521.

600. *kβrδh* = leeks, acc. to the Chinese (p. 189, n. 4). M. Benveniste adduces Pers. *kabar*, *kavar* “capers”, but botanists, one fears, will frown

upon such a comparison. We should compare Pers. *kavār* “leeks”, from \**kabarda-* (but with *-r* instead of *-l*), and further Turkish (from Iranian ?) گوزدا (= *köverde* ?) = *kurrāth*, Ibn Muḥannā, p. 182. The word strangely, although perhaps accidentally, resembles κεφαλωτόν, *Allium porrum* (also κεφαλών), which is said to be merely the neuter of κεφαλωτός “headed”.

600. *βzn-* “garlic”, see now *Tales*, 470, n. 2, where OIr. *brzn-* was proposed. This may have existed also in Western Iranian, although with slightly divergent meaning. بوسه یاز. Muwaffaq 44<sup>11</sup>, a kind of bitter onion, probably = *βολβός*, should almost certainly be read بوسنه *būsne* (from \**burznak* ?). Syriac *bwzn'* (also misspelt *bwzy'*, *bwn'*, the last = *βολβός*), which puzzled Löw, *Aram. Pfl.*, 74 sq., is apparently the same word.

601. *prw'rt*, it is true, is “chapter”. But nevertheless its proper meaning is “roll, scroll”. It belongs to *prw'rt-* “to turn”, precisely as Uyḡur *tägzinč* is formed from *tägzin-* “to turn”. Both *prw'rt* and *tägzinč* answer to Chin. 卷 *chüan* “roll, scroll, chapter”. Thus *parwärt* is different from MPers. (etc.) *fravardag*, which, however, can also be explained as “roll, folded document” > “letter”.

635/6. *myw ZY wyrkyh 'kyšpy βnt* = Skt. 257<sup>15</sup> (*anyonyabhakṣaṇāḥ sattvāḥ*) *kravyādakulasambhavāḥ* (*ḍurgandhi-kutsanīyaśca unmattaścāpi jāyate*) = Guṇabhadra acc. to M. Demiéville “tombent dans l'espèce des tigres et des loups”. The parallel versions led me to assume (*Tales*, 470, n. 1) that the meaning of *'kyšpy* here was different from that of *'kyδrp-*, but possibly M. Benveniste is right in translating *'kyšpy*, too, as *forme*. However that be, we are in agreement in believing that both forms are identical etymologically, although we disagree on the question which of them should be regarded as the original spelling. M. Benveniste has made his etymology of *'kyδrp-* (Av. *kəhrp-*) the basis of a far-reaching phonetical law, involving the transition of OIr. *-θr-* to *-hr-* (to *-š-*) in Sogdian. In addition to the reasons advanced before against this theory (in the annotation quoted above), I should like to point out that the Sogdian language lacked the *-h-* sound, and that if only for this reason *-hr-* was unlikely to be the result of *-θr-*. The fact that in a single (and somewhat doubtful) instance a *foreign -hr-* was changed to *-š-* by the Sogdians merely demonstrates the absence of such a group of sounds from their language. My etymology of *'kyδrp-/kyšp-* (OIr. *kršv-*) is supported by *'βtkyšp* P 3, 209, “the world” = Av. *hapta karšvaṇ*, Pers. *haft kišvar*. M. Benveniste has misinterpreted this word.

659. *pcγwnδ'* is awkward, as no such verb is known otherwise (only the noun Man. *pcrwn*, etc.). It corresponds to Skt. *vivarjayet* 258<sup>10</sup>. In line 649 the same Skt. verb (*vivarjitam* 258<sup>5</sup>) corresponds to *pcγw'y-*, which also stands against *antarāyakaro bhavet* in 258<sup>12/3</sup> (*pcγw'yt*). Thus *pcγwnδ'* may be a scribal error for \**pcγwyδ'*, the intransitive form of *pcγw'y-*. This could apply also to *pcγwδ'* in line 658. “Concerning what I taught before: that you should see, hear, suspect, and (in that case only) avoid, now (I declare): seen or unseen, every kind you shall avoid.”

663. *ym'n* is “defect, fault”, e.g. = Skt. *avadya* in line 670, hence hardly comparable with Pers. *gumān* “opinion, fancy, suspicion, doubt”.

671. *'wp'y 'krt-*, see also *Sogdica* 18 (and *Errata*). MPers. *'wp'y* is apparently a different word. Here = *buddhānuvarṇitam* 258<sup>15</sup> (= 說).

676. *β'wcy γρδβ'*, I used to read *γρδy'* instead, taking it for Skt. *hrdaya*, in view of 心量 (heart [mind] + capacity), which is both Guṇabhadra's and Śikṣānanda's translation of *mātrayā* (259<sup>1</sup>) acc. to Suzuki; M. Demiéville has a different reading (p. 191, n. 9). M. Benveniste translates as if the text had *γρβδ'*.

677/8. = Skt. *yogī piṇḍaṃ samācaret*. Cf. also *'cw wyspw šyr'k m'n 'škr'n'tt* 629 = *yogī*.

683. *pδβh*, also 714, possibly to be read *pδkh*. It is not a satisfactory *-k-*, but it is not a good *-β-* or *-y-* either. The letter *-k-* has been maltreated by the scribe throughout the manuscript; it can be mistaken sometimes for *-r-*, sometimes for *-p-*, etc. The meaning of *pδkh* could be “habit” or “category” here. Cf. the weak *pδkh* in P 12, 52, *pr s'n pδkh* “like an enemy” (here M. B. emends, I think, unnecessarily), *pr βy'n'yk pδkh VJ.*, 873, *'stty w'γwn'k pδkh 'PZY* “it happens that” P 6, 108 (edition *'sttyw*, but the apparent *-w* merely serves to fill the line; = *'sty*), and P 6, 60, comm.

732. *prγwn-* I took for the present stem of *prγwt-* (868), *prγ'wt-* (1035, 1039), and compared the noun *prγwn* (see *BBB.*, 76). “So that they will reject (condemn) meat and [not] desire its various kinds.” However, this does not agree well with the Chinese.<sup>1</sup>

756. *nyz'nt* “*vertueux, honnête*” acc. to M. Benveniste. In 794 *nyz'ntyh* = Skt. *kīrti*, in 1181 *trn nyz'nt* evidently = Chr. *trn nznt* = Syr. *tammīmā* “*perfectus, sincerus, simplex*” = ἀκέρατος. Chr. *nznty'*, *S.T.*, ii, certainly the same as *nyz'ntyh*, corresponds together with “obedience” to Hebr. *'wny* ii Sam., 16<sup>12</sup> (as A. Rucker has seen), which has been interpreted in different ways (mostly taken for *'onyī*). Here “humility, subjection” would suit, and similarly *nznt* in the hendiadys *trn nznt* could be “meek”. Cf. also M 765<sup>k8</sup> *c'nw nzndy'h 't[yy] nmryh w'x[št]* “as humbleness and soft (polite) words”. I compared Pers. *nižand (na-)* “cast down” (*S.T.*, ii, 604) and later Arm. *hnazand ὕπῆκοος* (see Gershevitch, §§ 27, 397).

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not always realized with sufficient clarity that the Sogdian translators (1) may have had before them Chinese manuscripts whose text differed considerably from that printed in the Taishō Tripitaka, (2) may have thoroughly misunderstood the Chinese. An instructive example is *SCE.*, 79/80, *γwmy ZKZY ym'n nws'kw 'wy cšmy' syt*. Anyone acquainted with Sogdian will understand “that one to whom faults appear in the eyes perpetually”, viz. a habitual fault-finder. I venture to think that a true-born Sogdian would have understood the same thing. But alas! the Chinese text used by M. Pelliot bears no resemblance to it. It says *mot à mot* “sew-falcon-eye-joint” = “(he that) sew(s together a) falcon's eye-lid(s)”. One wonders if it is wise for us to resign our knowledge of Sogdian and try to bring the Sogdian text into line with the Chinese. For this short sentence we have to impute to the Sogdian language not less than three otherwise unknown words, all of them homonyms of well-known words, namely (1) *ym'n* a new pronominal form (as if we had not enough of such already), otherwise = fault, defect; (2) *nws'kw* a falcon (which in fact is *nws* or *zws*), otherwise = always; (3) *syt* he sews, otherwise = he appears.

771. *γrtr'k* “mule” from *ḫaratara-*, cf. also Saka *khadara*, Bailey, *BSOS.*, X, 590 (24). The Sogdian word was borrowed by the Turks: *ḫartar* > *ḫātar* > *qatir*, and further in Mongol and in several Turkish dialects (cf. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1943, 43) *qačir* > *qečir*. As Turkish loan-word it reappeared in Iranian (Pers. *qātir*, Pashto *qačara*, Bal. *xačar*, etc.), and entered also Indian languages (Hindi, Nepali *khaccar*, Sindhi *xačar*“, etc.).

811. *kysn'k* = jungle, forest, cf. *Sogdica*, 29 n. Dhuta, 257, probably “the plant does not grow and disappears in the deep jungle”; *zyrwßs-* = Parth. *zgrys-* “to disappear” < “to be taken out (of its normal place)”. But Parthian *zrwrb* (the text was given in *BSOS.*, IX, 90) may be < *\*zrwrb* = “gold-worker”, with *\*xuwab* “artist” from Av. *hwapah-* = Skt. *svāpas-*.

847. *pn-<sup>1</sup> monnaie* is loan-word from Skt. *paṇa* (cf., e.g., Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques*, i, 282, No. 561), rather than from Chin. 分 *fən* < *piuən* “candareen” (now “cent”), which appears in Eastern Turkish as *puñ* (Menges, *SbPAW.*, 1933, 1285).

856. *L' yysy'nt L' k'mynt = ni donné d'instructions, ni sollicité.* *yys-* (not *yysy-*) thus renders a Chin. character with the meaning of “to instruct”, which the Sogdian translator (who understood the here apparently very difficult Chin. text differently) took for “to be instructed, to learn”. Hence, *yys-* defective spelling of *ywys-/yγws-*. “Even if they neither learn, nor desire, nor consider for what reasons the fish is caught. . . .”

911. *βγ'n γwn'y = Raurava* (Skt. and Chin.) explains the puzzling reference to *raurava* in *BSOS.*, IX (1939), 511 sq. Similarly, the reading and interpretation of *mkγw* (ibid., p. 499) can be understood only with the help of the Paris texts. One wondered why M. Benveniste wanted to compare (ibid., 502) Sogdian *wzp-* (Chr. *užb-*) with MPers. *wyz'b-* (*wizāb-*); we find now that the word is spelt *wyzp-* in P 6, 193. All the same, as the Sogdian has *-žb-* with no vowel intervening, but the MPers. *-zāb-*, the words cannot be connected. As M. Benveniste complains that the passage where *wyz'b-* occurs is not generally accessible, I give here the text (of the whole column, M 26 ii R), *'wd 'st'yšn 'yg [. . .] xwyš pydr yzd r'stygr o kw ''wn c'wn xwd pd r'myšn 'wd š'dyy pd b'ryst phryzynd o 'wš'n ks wyz'bg'r ny 'st' o ''wn 'c xwyš r'myšn u drwd wšyd'xw 'wd 'wrw'hmyyḥ wnyr'nd 'br hm'g dyn ywḡ[dhr]*.

951. *mk'* “ink” = Uyγur *mākā*, from Chin. 墨 *mo* < *māk*, see Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 92.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Benveniste (in the Glossary) connects *pn-y* with *pn̄y* in the medical fragment P 19, 8. It would, however, seem that *pn̄y-γr'y* in that text is a single word. In unpublished medical fragments it occurs (throughout out of context) as *pn̄yry*. There is little doubt that this is the name of a medicinal measure or weight, presumably a fraction of the *st'yr* (P 19, 6) = ounce. In Uyγur Turkish the tenth part of a *sitir* = *tael* = ounce is called “*baqir*” = *mace*, see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurische Glossen, Ostas. Ztschr.*, viii, p. 320. This “*baqir*” (*p'γyr*) or *paḡir*, which should not be confused with Turk. *baqir* “copper”, is evidently the same word as the Sogdian *pn̄yry* (etc.) = *\*panḡari*. One frequently finds *-aḡ-* instead of *-anḡ-* in Sogdian words.

<sup>2</sup> In view of M. Benveniste's remark, p. 181 n., it should be noted that *BBB.* was published on 13th April, 1937. I received *Notes iii*, through the kindness of the author, on 4th May, 1937.

980. 'ntrnykh (ZY ptmr'kh), read 'ntrnyrh = *indranīla* (and *padmarāga*), see *Sogdica*, 24 (c 11/12), and *Errata*. On *murβnt* see also *Tales*, 468, n. 4.

1016. -šwβt-, if -š- from *θr*, possibly = Pers. *sift* "tight, thick, etc."

1017. *ryz'kh*. M. Benveniste translated "rice" at first (this was also my first translation), but abandoned it later. In view of Saka *rrīys*- and the other forms quoted by Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 91, it deserves consideration. In *Padm.*, 28, *ryz'kh* seems to have no equivalent in the Chinese (*Taiśhō*, No. 1082, vol. xx, p. 199c); why not "rice"?<sup>1</sup> The word corresponding to "mustard" (白芥) there is certainly *šywšpδn*, which should be compared with Saka *šašvām* "mustard" (quoted by Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 136). Sogd. *csth* = 酪 "drink made of fermented mare's milk, etc."

1019. *γwrst'ny* is presumably "millet". *γwrst*- exactly = Pashto *γōšt*; cf. further Pers. *gāvars*, Saka *gausā*, etc., see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 214.

1019. *kynp'*, M. Benveniste tentatively "hemp". We should primarily compare Saka *kumbā* "flax", quoted by Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 128. On confusion of hemp and flax see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 288 sqq. *\*kembā* is certainly loan-word in Iranian and belongs to Akk. *gunnapu*, Syr. *qnp'*, *kávvaβis*, etc. Hence, "as thickly as (the plants in) a field of flax, millet, or corn."

1029. *cytβnt* "homage" or "greeting" is possibly connected with Saka *tvamdana-* (Tuyre *twantam*, see Konow, *NTS.*, xiii, 1942, 207-8), although the initials are not easily explained.<sup>2</sup>

1045. *pc'w-* = agitate, stir up, excite, see now *Tales*, 472 (D 28).

1065. *zyncry'kh* "chains", cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 240, n. 1 (strike out *tcamgalai*, see Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 5). *kwd'ynty*: M. Benveniste justly refers to Skt. *kudāṇa*, which Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques*, ii, 371, 379, wrongly restored as *kodaṇḍa*. He should have written *kudāṇḍa* as in *Mahāvīyutpatti*, 223, 279. This is pseudo-Sanskrit. Sogdian *kwd'ynty*, which in my view is in the singular, should be pronounced *kudende* and connected not with Pers. *kudīne*, etc., "mallet", as M. Benveniste proposes, but with Pers. *kunde* "stocks for offenders", shortened from *\*kudandak*. The word is still used in Eastern Turkestan, as *gundu*, cf. Menges, *Sb.PAW.*, 1933, 1277.

1114. *prγ'yz-*, beside *t'y* "thief", probably "to rob, plunder, strip", cf. *prγ'stk*, *SCE.*, 78, *prγ'stw*. Anc. Lett. v, 12. M. Benveniste refers to Chr. *prγyž*, *S.T.*, ii, but gives "léser". In view of Av. *tāyuš* . . . *hazanha* perhaps from *\*parahazya-*? For Chr. -γ- instead of older -χ- see Gershevitch, §§ 55, 57. Man. *prxyz-*, *BBB.*, *Kawān*, 62, n. 2 (where *prγyž* should be cancelled) must be a different word.

1121. (*cnn*) *βr' βr w'γš* "(from) carrying words to and fro" = "tale-bearing". A good example of the ablative of the infinitive (cf. Gershevitch, §§ 913, 919).

1152. *p'z'rmy m'r*. The line is a little blurred, but the first word, to judge

<sup>1</sup> *rysk* Anc. Lett. hardly so.

<sup>2</sup> *cytβnt* serves also as transliteration of *Jetavana* P 8, 30, "to the *farn* of *Jetavana Vihāra* (and to the *farn*) of *Navavihāra*" [sic].



by the facsimile, almost certainly ends in *-ʿrny*. Thus *pʿnʿrny/pʿzʿrny* or perhaps *pʿyʿrny*? I venture to propose *ptyʿrny*. “I have borne many evil things . . . but never have I done them, even to the inimical Māra”? However, *mʿr*, too, is very doubtful; it may be *mnw*<sup>1</sup> = hater, enemy, as in Dhuta 87.

1155. *ʿnzʿptnym* read *ʿznʿptnym*, and so read also in P 12, 70, in the place of *ʿznʿptʿym*. Man. *jnʿ-ptnym*, *BBB.*, p. 64. See now *Tales*, 481, n. 6.

1203, 1222. *nyš* “here, now” (see *Comm.* and *Additions*). The correct translation was already implied by Weller, who (on *Dhyāna* 272) stated that *nyš* probably = 此. Unfortunately for us non-Sinologists he considered it superfluous to reveal the meaning of the Chinese character, which is “in this place, here, now”.

1205. *ʿpšty-*, different from *ʿpšty-* “to abandon”, *VJ.*, 301, probably “to order, command, recommend”, to judge by Man. *ʿpštʿwʿnh* “order, recommendation” (see Gershevitch, § 1084), to which it bears the same relation as *nyšty-* (ibid., § 561) does to OPers. *\*ništāwan-*. Man. *ʿpštʿwʿnh* (in Sogd. script), *ʿpštʿwm* (in Man. script), = *apaštāwan*, is used only of Mani; *ʿpšty-* is used of the Buddha. These Sogdian words make it possible to propose a new explanation for the name of the “Avesta”: *Apastāk/Abastāg* = The Injunction (of Zoroaster).

1233. *npʿyšty*. Some scholars still cherish the idea that the ancient Iranians, instead of *writing* and *sealing* their letters, preferred to *fix* and *confirm* them, although it seems to have been abandoned now as far as the Sogdians are concerned. The basis of this strange opinion was the misreading (*hambāštan*) and consequent wrong etymology of the Middle Persian equivalent of the ideogram *HTYMWN*. Although he did not fail to recognize the Semitic word for sealing, Bartholomæ insisted that the MPers. equivalent should be translated as *festmachen*. The verb is written ideographically nearly always, but occurs in its Iranian garb in the *Epistles of Manuščihr*, p. 24<sup>4</sup>, *ušan nibišt ud ʿwšt*, read *ʿwbšt*. Important is the Pazend form *hawast* in *ŠGV.*, xi, 39, which sufficiently indicates *ʿwbšt* (instead of *hnbšt*) as the proper reading. It has been misunderstood by P. de Menasce in his recent reprint of the Pazend text (Fribourg, 1945). Why does the Quran say, exclaims the author of the *ŠGV.*, *kum dil, gōš, čašm-i mardumā bē hawast* = that “I sealed the heart(s) and the ear(s) and the eye(s) of men”? Even a slight acquaintance with Quranic terminology teaches that *hawast* here renders Ar. *ḥatama*. P. de Menasce has not recognized that the passage quoted is Sūrah 2, 6, *ḥatama ʿllāhu ʿalā qulūbihim waʿalā samʿihim waʿalā abṣārihim (ghīṣāwat<sup>un</sup>)*, a text familiar to most first-year students of Arabic. The final proof for reading *ʿwbšt* (with

<sup>1</sup> Not connected with MPers. *myn*, *Mir.Man.*, i, which was assumed to be the offspring of Av. *maēni-* (Skt. *meni*). Ibid., *gbr* = uterus (cf. *Kephalaia*, 177, 29); *dnʿh* = tooth-ache (*dann-* from *dant-*? + Pers. *āh*); *wcyh* = Pahl. *wcyh-* = Av. *vyusqm*; *hngʿwʿn* read *hngʿn* “to fill up (a well)”; *phng* read *pʿng*. In *Mir.Man.*, ii, *pylg* may be “altar” = Akkadian *parakku*, Syr. *prakkā*, Mand. *pryky* (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, 14). But in Parthian *pylg* is apparently “steps, staircase”, hence = Pers. *pille*.



-wb- = -β-) is provided by Man. MPers. 'wyšt in an unpublished fragment (M 785, 28) *prurđg 'yg 'wyšt 'wd pryst'd 'w dw'zdh p'ygws'*[n].

1233/4. The name of *Khumdān* occurs first in the Ancient Letters ('*xwmt'n*'), see my note *apud* M. Black, *Transactions of the Glasgow Oriental Society*, viii, 1938, p. 25. The phrase '*wy γwt'w βryβ*'r is incomprehensible. A reference in such terms to the ruler of Ch'ang-an, viz. the Chinese emperor, is out of the question. Also, '*wy*' should precede a locative. Cannot *βryβ*'r be a mistake for *βry*'r? Hence, "in the *γwt'w* monastery", *γwt'w* being either its Sogdian ("lord, king") or its Chinese (*\*hu-tao*) name.—Read 19 in the place of 28.

### P 3

3. *š'w-β'm'k* = black, or blackish. -*βām* in Sogdian is always "colour", as is -*fām* in Persian (cf. *BSOS.*, X, 100 sq.).

10. '*nkyr*' here, in view of '*rs'ny*' (on which see above on P 2, 37), may be = *angūr* = Pers. *an'ūr(e)* = *foramen ani*.

38. *š'yn'ynch* probably "ague", lit. shaking, from *šan-* (cf. Pers. *larz*).

55. *pych* "visage" should in my view be read *prch* "back". "If with this stone he knocks, ever so softly, his opponent on the back without his noticing it, etc."

66. *wš-* perhaps "piece", cf. *Sogdica*, 25. "Emitting pieces" = "splintering"?

74. '*sp'rδt*' may be a verbal form, "his eyes \*burst (and) come out". Cf. Pashto *spaṛ-*, Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 68? In meaning the Sogdian word agrees well with Skt. *sphaṭ-/sphut-*.

100. *cnt'n-β'm'k* can hardly mean "sandal-coloured" as M. Benveniste proposes. Such a term would lack clarity, as sandalwood can be white, red, or yellow. Moreover, Skt. *candana* is regularly spelt *cntn* in Sogdian. *š'w-β'm'k*, '*sp'yt-β'm'k*', etc., in the parallel clauses make one think that *cnt'n* (or *czt'n*) by itself is the name of a colour (brown?).

106. '*m'rδ-*' apparently "companion, colleague, competitor" from *hām-arθa-*, cf. Pers. *hamāl*. See now also Chr. '*mrtt*' "colleagues", Giwargis 78.

124. *γry'γh*, as was suggested in *Tales*, 465, n. 2 = tent = Pers. *xargāh*. Independently, the same explanation was proposed by H. H. Schæder to M. Benveniste (see his note), who objects to it on the ground that we should not have Persian loan-words in a Sogdian text. It was not my meaning that *γry'γh* should be so regarded. One would rather consider *xargāh* a loan-word (slightly changed by popular etymology) in Persian.

126. '*šych*'. The imperfect *m'šync* occurs in an unpublished glossary fragment, but the MPers. column is missing (M 356). The corresponding MPers. word is "to water (the garden, the streets, etc.)", cf. *Kawān* a 110. Neither MPers. '*šynz-*' (*Mir.Man.*, i; *ZII.*, ix, 198) nor Parthian (')*šyy'd*' (see *BBB.* s.v.; apparently a preterite) are clear. "Poured down water" = "a waterfall"?

132. *yn'kw* conceivably *yz'kw* = \*space, cf. Man. 'yz-, Chr. 'yz- (BBB., 122) ?

134. *cynr'w'k* ? Better read *cyzr'w'k* = Pers. *čayz-lāve* (*čayz-vāre*) = (frog-spawn), the scum on stagnant water, etc. Hence, "Paint the big space full of water, and on the back, down to the duck-weed, paint various kinds of *nāgas*."—The somewhat similar word *cyngry*' in *Sogdica*, p. 36 (*g* 30), can now be explained more fully. The interpretation of MPers. *cmb* as the name of a musical instrument (as in *g* 28, cf. also Sogd. *cmb-t'r*-, *ibid. a* 1), and the comparison with Pers. *čangale* "a musical instrument similar to a harp" (BQ.) can be confirmed. For Sogdian *cyngry*' was borrowed by Turkish: it appears as چنگرا *čing(e)rā*, equivalent of *sanj* "harp", in Ibn Muhannā's Arabic-Turkish dictionary, p. 146, ed. Stambul, 1338/1340.<sup>1</sup> Aptullah Battal, *Ibnü Mühennâ Lûgati*, Stambul, 1934, p. 25<sup>a</sup>, should not have emended it ("çeng"). It is likely that these words are diminutives of *čang* (*čing* ?) "harp".

147 sqq. "the houses of the twelve constellations are to be painted over Mount Sumeru, and also the twenty-eight lunar mansions and the twelve (MS. eleven) great and terrible Hours and all other zodiacal stars are to be painted." The MS. has clearly "eleven hours", but M. Benveniste prints "ten" (cf. above P 2, 1234, where the edition has "28", but the MS. "19"). "Eleven" is a scribal error. The "twelve Hours" are the twelve sections of the ecliptic, each of which needs an hour (= double-hour) to pass through the meridian (= 30°). Astronomers still nowadays calculate right ascension in "hours" (of 15°) instead of degrees. Thus our shamanist had to paint, beside representations of the twelve constellations (as little circles for the stars, connected by lines), also the "circle of twelve animal figures typifying the double hours of the Chaldæan *νυχθήμερον*": so Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. *δωδεκάωρος*. Cf. also Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, plate 7. *pr'ykt* copyist's mistake for *p'r'ykt*. *'nyr-wz'nt* is adjective, "lying in, or belonging to, the zodiacal circle."

161. *nyzw*, if = Pers. *nayz* (as M. Benveniste suggests), = smooth, since this is the proper meaning of the Persian word (see e.g. *Čahār Maqāle* 7<sup>3</sup>, opp. *durušt*).

172. *wzprnh* beside camphor, sandalwood, costus, etc., perhaps "safflower" = Ar. *'uṣfur* ? The second half of the Sogdian word looks suspiciously like Ar. *za'farān*, believed to be of Persian origin by some authorities. But "saffron" cannot be meant here, as the proper Sogd. word for it (*kwrkwnph*) occurs in the next line. It is true that *'uṣfur* may be good Arabic, and is apparently not connected with *za'farān*. On the other hand, both may be arabicized forms of two different, but related, foreign words.

174. *yγsh aloēs*. It is difficult to believe that for this Indian incense the Sogdian language had a word so dissimilar to the Indian terms (*agaru*, *aguru*). The identification rests on P 7, 108, where the Chinese has *du parfum*

<sup>1</sup> چکر = *barbut* ? p. 161 (cf. Battal, p. 26, *čīñir*) is not clear.

*candana* ou de l'aloès et du musc, acc. to M. Demiéville's translation, while the Sogdian is *ZKw cntn 'PZY ȳrsh ZY ZKw kp'wr* = sandalwood and *ȳrsh* and camphor. Obviously, as the Persian lexicographers say, *ǰāy-i ta'ammul-ast*; for camphor is not musk. Until we are better informed by Sinologists, we may provisionally assume that *ȳrsh* is *musk*.<sup>1</sup> If so, one could understand “32 *ȳrsh*” in *Anc. Letter*, ii, 58, as “32 (vesicles of) musk” (a quantity of considerable value, as can be seen from Marvazi, tr. Minorsky, p. 20).—This is a good opportunity to call attention to the Pahlavi word for “lign-aloës”, which is found in *GrBd.*, 118<sup>6</sup> (but omitted in the Indian Bundahishn): *'wlvw* = *awalūg* from *\*ayalūk* (with *-w-* from *-γ-* as often), a form that is very close to ἀγάλογον. It corroborates the Syriac spelling *'wlvw* (also *'blwg*), on which see Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, 11. As to the *soi-disant* Persian *يَلنجوج* (BQ.), النجوج (Löw, *Ar. Pfl.*, 295), this absurdity may owe its origin to misreading a corrupt Pahlavi form, e.g. *\*'wlvwgv* misread as *ulangūg*.

175. *z'm nγw'y*. M. Benveniste (see his note on P 2, 298) translates *trancher* and rejects Reichelt's *auspressen*. In my view the correct meaning is “to pound (drugs in a mortar)”. Wherever drugs are mentioned in Sogdian texts, they are unfailingly subjected to the action expressed by *nγw'y-*, which thus corresponds to Pers. *sūdan*. Together with *žām* “fine” it is the equivalent of Uyγur *yumśaq soq-* (cf. Rachmati, *Heilk. Uig.*, i, 469 on 138). As to *žām*, one does not see how it can be the Chinese 纖 *hsien* < *siam* (Benveniste, *JA.*, 1936, i, 231). Neither the initials nor the vowels agree. Middle Chin. *sj-* was invariably reproduced by *s(y)-* in Central Asian languages. Cf., e.g., 辛 *sjēn* = Sogd. *sin* (*SbPAW.*, 1907, 462), 小 *sjaü* = Uyγur *sio-*, *sau-* (ibid., 1938, 374, and often), 信 *sjaem* = *sīmmi*, 信 *sjaēn* = *sīmni* in Brāhmī (F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG.*, 91, 43), etc. An Iranian etymology was proposed *apud* Gershevitch, § 285.

179. *cntn'yn'k k'p* possibly “a block of sandal-wood”, cf. Pali *candana-gaṇṭhi* (PTS. Dict.)? *k'p* from *kβt-* “to split”?

181/2. *δ'r'yn't p'styt* = wooden cups, or small tablets? The mysterious word *pāšt-* is perhaps merely a dissimilated form of *tāšt-*. Cf. *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 50, n. 2.

199. *wyškyrd-* perhaps “to pierce”; compare, beside *wšk'rδ* “needle”, also Saka *pāškal-*, etc., see Konow, *NTS.*, ix, 64. The Sogdian word for “embers”, *γrwy* = *xarwe*, is no doubt (with metathesis of *-w-*) related to the Pahlavi for “embers”, *hwlg* = *xwarg* (from *xwāarak*), which is familiar also from Pazend *xurg* (= *aṅgāraka*, *ŠGV.*, xiv, 25), Jewish Persian *xwurg* = *xwarg* (Is. 44<sup>19</sup>, 47<sup>14</sup>; Ez. 1<sup>13</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>), and vulgar Persian *xulg*, *xarg* (instead of *x'arg*), Wollaston s.v. embers.<sup>2</sup> The Sogdian phrase *γrwy wyškyrd-*

<sup>1</sup> If this can be established, it may even become worthwhile to consider whether the Sogdian is related in any way to the Chinese term for “musk” (see Karlgren, *Analyt. Dict.*, No. 865).

<sup>2</sup> Not recognized by indigenous dictionaries. P. de Menasce (on *ŠGV.*) quotes a solitary Pers. “*xarak D*”, but does not explain the *D*. This *\*xarak* which I find in Johnson's Dictionary is, of course, a mispointed *xarg/xorg*.

reminds one of Pahlavi *xwarg škastan* “to break up live coals”, *DkM.*, 794 apu.<sup>1</sup>

204. *ḍšny w't* is probably “south-wind”. MPers. *dašn* is “right (side, hand)” only. In the place of *wn'ntk* one could read *wz'ntk* “blowing”. The passage in its whole recalls *Hadokht Nask*, ii, 7–8.

205. “swift as thought”, literally “swift thought-equally (*'ywnzkyδ*)”. On Pahl. *vāt-i artā* see also *Sogdica*, 37, n. 1.

219. “And now, a great oath has been taken by the Nāgas . . . (to the effect) that whenever all such preparations, as described, have been made in full, they will feel obliged to come there, together with the wind, in order to make . . .”

226/7. *w's-* “to begin to blow”, see *Tales*, 482, note *f*. Both M. Benveniste and myself have been deceived by the “frogs” *γwkt*. “Sulphur and realgar,” see *BSOS.*, X, 398, and *Tales*, 465, n. 1.

242. *nm'y* is perhaps the same particle as the Talmudic *nmy* (Levy, iii, 399), whose Persian origin Nöldeke suspected (*Mand. Gramm.*, 485). Syriac *lam* is generally derived from *nmy*.

273. *'psBr'yc* (*'stky*) is almost certainly a “sheep's shoulderblade”, an object indispensable to a Central Asian magician. One could refer to Quatremère, *Histoire Mong. en Perse*, 267 sqq. (note 89), and to the recent discussion by Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1944, 92–3, 101. As *'ps-* = sheep, *-Br'yc* = *frēč* must be “shoulder” or “shoulderblade”. This should be compared with MPers. *prygy*, Pahl. *plyk* “shoulder”, see *OLZ.*, 1934, 752 (where *Dād. Dīn.*, 37, 97, p. 102, ed. Anklesaria, could be added). Both the Sogdian and Middle Persian words represent Old Iranian *\*frayikā-*, which cannot be separated from *\*fayaka*, see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 208 (Dr. Gershevitch reminds me also of *Byk'*, *VJ.*, 56<sup>e</sup>).

285. *knt'wš mastic* = Pers. *kandōš mastic*. This explanation, which Reichelt, ii, p. vii, approved, is not possible. There is no such Persian word. It is true one finds it in Johnson's dictionary (and its descendants), but one looks for it in vain in reliable books. The correct Persian word that can be identified with Sogd. *knt'wš* is *kundūš* = Ar. *kundus* = Syr. *qyndwš* and means “a kind of *Saponaria*” or according to some authorities (for example, Schlimmer, p. 559) “white hellebore”, see Löw, *Aram. Pfl.*, 305 sq.; Achundow, transl. of *Muw.*, 261 sq. [of the reprint]. It is in this case still possible to trace the mistake as to “mastic”. In the *Kašfu 'lLughāt* (sixteenth century) Arabic—but not Persian!—*kundūš* is thus defined:—“the name of an animal; also, it is said, the name of a drug, which they call *maštakī* = mastic in India; thus in *ašŠurāh*.” Obviously, the author of the *Kašf* declines responsibility for the second meaning. Looking up his source, the *Šurāh* (thirteenth century),

<sup>1</sup> This passage, along with many others, was discussed by Dr. Mirza in his able commentary on *Pahl. Riv.*, ch. 35, where he proposed “light (emanating from fire, etc.)”. However, the word was sometimes confused with *xwarreh* (as Mirza pointed out) and thus may appear as *GdH* in Pahlavi texts. Thus, e.g., in *GrBd.*, 124<sup>10</sup>, “three fires like three embers in a fire-place” (differently Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 45).

we find s.v. *kdš*:—"Arabic *kundūš* = Persian 'akke *va-kundur*' = magpie and incense (mastic). Since the *Šurāḥ* is merely an abridgment of the *Šiḥāḥ*, we have to turn to the latter work, where, as in any other Arabic dictionary of repute, *kundūš* has only the meanings of (1) magpie, (2) a certain sternutative drug (= *kundus*; purists disapproved of the spelling with -š), see, e.g., *Tāʾ al 'Arūs*, vol. iv, p. 346. Thus *kundur* in the *Šurāḥ* is necessarily a mistake. No spelling *کندوش* occurs in either Arabic or Persian; the vowels of "*kandōš*" are pure invention.

286. *z'r* is almost certainly "poison" here as everywhere else. Hence, *mwš'kk z'r* = the poison, Skt. *mūṣaka*, *Salvinia cucullata* Roxb., cf. also Skt. *mūṣakamārī* "rat-killer" for the same plant; M. Benveniste's translation *mauve musquée* can hardly be justified. Further, *šr'ynk z'r* is surely the well-known poison, Skt. *śrngī*, which in Arabic and Persian books partly appears as *شرنک* (thus Bērūnī) or *اسریق* (from *اسرنق* ?), partly is translated as *al-qurūn* "the horns" or *qurūn as-sunbul* "the horns of the corn-ear"<sup>1</sup>, or also *bīš al-qurūn*. To judge by the statements of Muslim pharmacologists, *śrngī* was *Secale cornutum*; it figured in the lists of so-called "aconites". See Muwaffaq 59<sup>6</sup>; Achundow's translation, 276 sqq.; Ghāfiqī, No. 181 and note; *K. al-Dhakhrah*, 298, ed. Sobhy. The text of the relevant passage in Bērūnī's *k. as-Šaidanah* is available in part *apud* Z. Valīdī Togan, *Biruni's Picture of the World*, p. 113 (where *شیرنک* = *شبرنک* ?), more fully but less correctly *apud* Ghāfiqī, loc. cit.

## P 5

1-89 re-edition of the Dīrghanakhasūtra. 90-125 is not well described as *le début d'une longue invocation bouddhique*. It is a confession-prayer for Buddhist monks. One regrets that there is so little of it. The Uyğur *Sündenbekenntnisse* published by Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 76 sqq., and Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, iv, were intended for the laity.

28 n. It is perhaps more correct to say that *γwnc* "colour" translates 色 "colour", which in its turn represents Skt. *rūpa*, irrespective of the meaning of the Skt. word in various contexts.

41. *šyr''w'y* (M. B.'s correction) is properly "goodness". It may not be superfluous to mention that the ordinary meaning of 好, which here is rendered by *šyr''w'y*, is "good, well, happy, etc." The Sogdian translator was hardly aware of the special value of the Chinese character.

94. Read [.] (šy) *βwmh* ? Before *βwmh* there is space for not more than four or five letters. *γwyz''y* [.] (šy) *βwmh* should be = *Sukhāvati*. One could restore *[wγ]šy*, "the very [happy] land of the West." Cf. P 8, 72, "to with-great-joy = blissful *Sukhāvati*" (M. Benveniste's translation differs).

94. *pr'pt* (or is it *pr'pty* ?) occupies the third place in a list of Bodhisattvas.

<sup>1</sup> Often misunderstood as "the horns of spikenard".

Hence, abbreviation of [*Mahāsthāma*]*prāpta*, see, e.g., *Larger Sukhāvativyūha*, § 34.

106. *wsn* 107 *ɰwyty pyδ'r* cannot be seen on the photograph. *'puh* is a little doubtful, but cf. *c'wn 'pw ''γ'z mrt's'r* P 9, 120 (which could conveniently be restored here).

108. *γrβ'wk* 109 *wn'y* is, to judge by the facsimile, a rather dubious reading. After *lobha* and *dveṣa* one expects *moha* (usually *mntγrβ'kyh*). Perhaps *γyr''k-wn'y*? “Desire, hate, stupidity, and suffering are endless, that torment. . . .”

114/5. Nearly completely blotted out in the facsimile. *δ'r'ny* read *δ'ryny*? One wonders if *\*pcytw* can be read in the place of *pctw*.

120. Cf. *T.T.*, iv, p. 436, 28 sq., *bursong quwrayiγ iki yartim qiltimz ārsār*. Hence, read *'krtw*?

110–125. M. Benveniste has not translated these last fragmentary lines. They mean roughly this: “If I should have destroyed (*[n]štw*) a *stūpa* . . ., burnt or destroyed a sacred book, stolen and kept the possessions of the Three Jewels . . ., slandered (and said) ‘it was not taught by the Buddha’. If I should have . . . and kept and hidden it . . . without the commandments and keeping the commandments . . . if I should have slandered and detracted . . ., hurt a life . . ., kept servants . . ., split the united community into two parties. If I should have given rise to the very heretical opinion that . . . action has no retribution. Furthermore, if by day or night, habitually (*r'm[nt]*) I should have committed sins of the body, [sins of the mind], sins of the mouth, . . .”

## P 6

Fragment of the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhātathāgatasūtra*. To our misfortune, M. Benveniste has not printed the apparently very close translation of the Chinese original which M. Demiéville had prepared for him. W. Liebenthal's translation, given in an appendix, is not as literal as one could wish. One misses explanations of the passages where the Sogdian apparently deviates from the Chinese, judging by Liebenthal's version.

7. *kyn'k* means “sword” according to the Chinese version. M. Benveniste justly compares ἀκινάκης. There is, however, no need to bring in *kynβr Padm.*, 25, which, as Weller has shown (on *Vim.*, 136), is “enemy”. Cf. Pers. *kīnāvar*, from *kīn* “hatred, revenge, enmity, fight, battle”.

7/8. *cnn 'sk' šk''βy* has no equivalent in Liebenthal's translation. Professor Haloun kindly informs me that Hsüan-tsang's text, in agreement with most other versions, has “precipice”, 懸峻. Pers. *šikāf* “crevice, cleft in a mountain”.

13. *wyn'ync s'n* (Demiéville *ennemi étranger*). One does not quite see how one can arrive at this reading. The MS. has *nyn'ync* (or *zyn'ync*, etc.).

21. *'βt*, read *'št*. Added by the scribe above the line, but apparently superfluous.

25. *γw''t*. M. Benveniste (see his long note) has not seen that this *γw''t* is merely an orthographic variant of *γ'wt(y)*, *γw'wt(y)* in the Dhuta text which



were discussed in *BBB.*, p. 58 (on 505). This  $\gamma w''t$  (from  $\gamma w'wt$ ) means "he breaks (the law, etc.)", and has no obvious connection with the adjective  $\gamma w''t$ , Man. and Chr.  $xw't$ , which in all passages means nothing but "weak", certainly nowhere *endommagé*. The comparative is naturally *moins de force*, weaker. That this adjective was formed from a root  $xwā$  was explained in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). It is entirely a different matter to ascribe a present stem  $xwā$  to Sogdian. Such a present stem does not exist. I have no apologies to make for the statement to that effect in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). There are no present stems ending in  $-ā$  in Sogdian. As proof for his point of view M. Benveniste quotes  $\gamma w''t$ ,  $\gamma w'nt$ , *SCE.*, 185, 212. In my view these forms belong to  $\gamma w$ - "to fail, *commettre une faute*", see *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 552).

82.  $\beta'z'kh$  "upper arm and shoulder" corresponds to Pahlavi *bāzā*, spelt  $b'z'y$ , as *nasā*, *ardā* are spelt  $ns'y$ ,  $'lt'y$ . We have countless examples of this orthographic peculiarity in Pahlavi inscriptions now, see e.g. *BSOS.*, IX, 829 sqq. The Pahlavi words have frequently been misread as *artāk*, *nasāk*, etc. Salemann, *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, i, a, 279, beside  $b'z'y$  and  $ns'y$ , quotes the much-discussed *nkyr'y* ("nkyr'b"), transliterated in Pazend as *nigārāe*. According to H. H. Schæder, *Ung. Jb.*, xv, 571, n. 2, this word should prove the existence in Middle Persian of a participle-adjective in  $-āy$  (which I had denied, *NGGW.*, 1932, 219, n. 7). I submit that the spelling on the contrary shows that the word ended in  $-ā$ . It would, moreover, seem that *nkyr'y* is a loan-word from Aramaic, a form from *nkr* "to repudiate", although the true original, *\*nakkīrā* "denying, repudiating" (as *makkīkā* "humble", etc.), does not apparently occur in Aramaic.

98.  $p\delta'y\beta'rcyh$  shows that Chr.  $pdyb'dcy'$ , *S.T.*, ii, is wrong reading of  $pdyb'rcy'$ . The  $-d-$  was marked as uncertain in the edition; the difference is merely a matter of a dot. Misled by the Christian form, I restored  $p\delta y\beta'\delta cy'$  in *BBB.*, p. 36 (line 613), but indicated that this was doubtful. Read  $p(\delta y\beta)['](rc)[y](')$ .

111.  $'yw knpy$  50 litt. *cinquante moins un*. *Il en résulte que knpy (ici "à défaut") est confirmé dans la fonction de substantif et dans le sens de "manque, défaut" posés Notes iv [BSOS., IX], p. 515.* To my mind this use of the word (cf. also *JRAS.*, 1942, 243) shows again clearly that *knpy* means *moins* and is not a substantive, but the comparative of  $k\beta ny$  "little". As pointed out in *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 546), *knpy* = Man. *kmbyy* is  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\nu$ . Hence, *knpy* from *kambiyah-*, but  $k\beta n-$  from *\*kabna-* = *\*kmbno-*.<sup>1</sup> The word corresponding to *knpy* in Persian, *kam*, is similarly used, cf. Pers. *sad yak kam* = 99; cf. also Bang *apud* Marquart, *Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, p. vi, n. 3, where *bir kem otuz* = 29.

113. 'W copyist's mistake for 't? The entry in the *Glossaire*:—'W, *ou* (*passim*), is hardly justified. This word occurs neither in these, nor in other Sogdian texts. "Or" is 'WZY; similarly, "and" is 'PZY, but never \*'P.

<sup>1</sup> One wonders how often more "MPT. *kambišt*" will be quoted. No such word is attested. Cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 751.

119. *ny'wδ*. The reading is confirmed by Man. *nywδ γρβγγ* (?), M 502<sup>1</sup>R 1 (out of context) = as far as one knows (?).

145. *zγ'rš-* may be *ny'rš-*. Dhyāna 231 has been overlooked, "neither old age nor death befall him", cf. *BBB.*, 55, where Chr. *nzš-* was quoted.

151. *γnšy'kh*, the object of *w'c-*, should name the punishment which the king had imposed upon his prisoners and from which he should release (*w'c-*) them now. In view of *γnš'kh* "toil" (*SCE.*, 44) one could think of compulsory labour. Similarly *γnšn γnšn* P 2, 1043/4 = various efforts, or renewed efforts, while *γnš'y 'štn*, *VJ.*, 769, may be "he carried (the body of the cart on his neck)",<sup>1</sup> cf. the employment of *kašūdan* in similar contexts in Persian (*bār k-*). Or else, *γanšākh* may mean "captivity", shortened from *γranš-*, cf. *γr'nš*, *BBB.*, p. 63. One could thus account also for Sogdian *γnš* (*Sogdica*, p. 39, *h* 37), whose Middle Persian equivalent *bš* may reflect OIr. *bastra-* (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 87); this is true also of Persian *baš*, which was differently explained in *Sogdica*, p. 42. Not necessarily connected with either group is *γršy'kh*, P 13, 3. This is perhaps a measure of length? "He (Rustam) came close (from *β'w-* "to approach") to the town by one thousand feet, or paces"?

163. *kršn* here corresponds to "beauty" in Liebenthal's translation. This further confirms the opinion put forward in *BBB.*, p. 93 (cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 37).

165. *γ'ttwnh* corresponds to "wives of the princes" in Liebenthal's translation, but M. Demiéville gives *la seconde femme (de l'empereur)*. One would have valued an explanation of this divergence.

167. *β'mkyr'nt conseillers, ministres qui secondent* is a puzzling word. Would it be permissible to regard it as a case of semi-translation of the equally mysterious Persian title *kanārang*, *Χαπαράγγης*, which may have been analysed as *kanār + rang*? For Sogdian *β'm* = Persian *rang*, and Sogd. *kyr'n* = Pers. *kanār*.

167. *'ynδ'yth les dames* may belong to Wakhi *indigunj*, Yidgha *idiko*, etc., "slave-girl."

185. *ryncwk litt.* "enfantin", d'où "bénin". Not a happy etymology. In P 12, 55, it is opposed to *γr'n* "heavy". Hence = "light". See also *Tales*, 482, n. 5.

193. *kyc* conceivably = Persian *gīč* (modern *gīj*) "giddy, stupefied, perplexed".

197. *kwntk* is an ingenious, but apparently rather uncertain, reading, to judge by the facsimile.

<sup>1</sup> *βstγwnp'y 'skwn*, *ibid.*, 771, must mean "she pushed the wheel". This reveals a root of five consonants, (*fra +*) *stγnp*, or at least four, *\*stγm*, if *-np-* = *-mb-* developed from an original *-m-*. Hence compare Pahl. *stahm*, *stahm(b)ak*, and *Vistahm*.

*Misprints and Minor Points*P 2-6<sup>1</sup>

P 2.—17 'krt'. 22 *rtšy pr 'ws'wyt'k*. 25 'zw'n "life". 26 *y't'k*. 27 'myh. 30 *prywnk* (here and P 7, 193) = *prnywnk*? 40 *c'wn*. 55 *δ't'kh* "law"; *rtšth*, too, prob. subst. "truth". 89 copyist's mistake for *cywyšn*. 93 [*c'n'kw ZY*] omitted by the scribe before *ZK*. 96 'ns'yt'k. 101, 116, 154 *γypδh*. 106 copyist's mistake for *pryw*. 157/8 "care cannot be taken (to prevent) that (*rt'y*) the son might kill". 160 copyist's mistake for *p'rZY* (here = rather, even); *rtyšw*. 162 *ZNH* (not in index). 164 'st'y opt., "(if there) were." 166 *βrz* also *VJ.*, 1131; here = rather. 167/9 "and need not realize successive re-births when he dies". 172 *ZKZY*. 176 *mz'y'gh*. 209 "this vengeance follows (pres.) him who (*ZKZY*) has taken (impf.) my sweet life". 219 'w'y'wrt. 232 *pyšy*. 235 'γ'zt "begins . . . to kill"; omit 'r'y'nt from glossary. 246 *ZY* (instead of *ZK*). 251 *m'skh*; "that the butcher's means increase." 262 "merciless is he that buys". 269 "meat-production"? Cf. 286, and also 347 "it is very wicked to prepare (produce) meat"? 271 'nypδ'y uncertain; poss. 'nzpδ'y (or 'zn-). 293 'δ'kw. 298 *zy'y-* as *z-y'y-* occurs in unpublished texts. 305 *ZKwyh*. 307 *γwny*. 323 *péché*, read *meurtre*. 328 *γwny'w*. 335 *γrβygh*? 359 *nt* (also gloss.) read *ZK*. 361 'ndβy-, cf. Gershevitch, § 293. 363 *ZK* read *ZKw*. 366 cf. *Sogdica*, 16, 18, "stability? station?". 390 On *zm'wr'k* see Gershevitch, § 380. 401 *cytk* from *kaēta-*, Gauthiot, *Gramm.*, i, 97. 419 "his food is not well digested" (as Skt. *pac-*, BR. meaning 3). 432 some kind of *vātavyādhi*, cf. Pers. *bād . . . xēzād* (often in *Muw.*). 433 *knpy'strh* "particularly short" (relative of *knpy*). 467 *pn'yšt*. 509 *y't'yn'k*. 513 *prw'y'nt*. 523 *syδrt*, no doubt copyist's mistake for *srδyt*. 546 *m'th*. 551 'šk'yrt'y (also gloss.). 557 *γwy'r* read *γwy'rstr*. 582 "on the morrow, to-morrow" rather than *tôt*. 609 insert *ZNH* after 'PZY. 621 'pw read 'kw; "how could I dare . . . not to listen." 635 *wyrkyh*. 639 *sk'rn'k*. 641 -*škr'k*. 642 *γwn* a particle? 665 *ZNH* read *γh*. 672/3 "so that you shall eat it, all you monks, as if". 689 *rtšy*. 713 *pcywδ'* (also gloss.). 785 cf. also Parth. *tyšt-yn*, *BSOS.*, IX, 88. 815 the MS. has *ptr'yδry*, corrected into -*δky* (or vice versa); was -*δrky* intended = *ptr'yšky* 458? 850/1 from *ā + karš*, cf. also *Sogdica*, 29 (e 11). 866/7 "except for a Buddha's or Bodhisattva's expedient (*upāya*)"; Chin. differs. 875 *z'rcn'wk'*. 891 copyist's mistake for *pw'rt'y*. 892 *kwyšt-* (if = sesame) = *kūišt* < \**kūinšt* < \**kūinēt* < *kunēit*? 923 *zw'rt*. 954 lit. "and walk in such matter" = "and act accordingly". 966 *srδ* left out after *RYPW*. 969 *pyrnm'str*. 983 *δwyth*. 992 cf., e.g., *Mahāvīyutpatti*, 15, 16 (ed. Minayev). 1010 *mystk'r'k*. 1044 'škrt'y. 1052 *prwy'w'k* (also 214) here synonym of *yp'k* = *dveṣa*? 1067 insert *pyδ'r* before *ZKwh*. 1071 *ctβ'r* is correct, but the MS. has *ctβ'k*. 1077, 1082 *pātux* "on his guard" from *pāta + axw*? 1085 'wyh *tmyh*; *mr* perhaps meant to be cancelled, the scribe having begun to write

<sup>1</sup> To save space, where no confusion is possible only those readings are given which are correct in my opinion. Thus, "P 2, 17 'krt'" means that in that line the MS. seems to have, in my view, 'krt' instead of 'krt'y.

*mr(ch)*. 1098 'yh read 'znh "knowledge". 1110 z'ygyz'k, cf. Pers. *xazīdan* "creep". 1154 *srw* "head" ? 1161 "pwh is emendation; MS. 'npwh. 1163 pδ'rβ-, cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 4. 1168 'βs'yp-, possible connections, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3. 1176 'rt'wpsyh. 1181 *nyz'nt*. 1189 'cw. 1207 γrδ'k poss. = γδ'kh, P 7, 64 = Man. γδy' (?), *BBB.*, 105. 1223 prβ'yrv is subj., not impf. (which is pr'yβ'yrv). 1230 *srw*.

P 3.—4 ZK. 11 ZY read 'ny "other". 15 "it quickly heals and gets better". 24 Enter *L* at end of line. 41 'ns'ytch. 48/9 "unlimited", *Sogdica*, 27 sq. 50/1 "early in the morning, before eating (Gershevitch, § 63) or talking". 57 "his words are going = fluent ? successful ?". 82 p'tz'r'k. 97 "cannot easily be set forth". 108 *frawēd-*, cf. *Tales*, 484 sq. 110 'zw'nh not quite certain; poss. 'w'nh ("w'zh). "*Elle est belle*" has no equivalent in the Sogdian text. 112 *rtšy*. 125 prδync is correct, but MS. prδyc. 129 pr'yink "damask", see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 150 sqq. 142 nγs'yr. 158 MS. prδ'nkh, corrected *prima manu* to prδynch. 174 *wyspn'c*. 179 *pw* read [Z]Kw. 206 βwδn(-βr'n). 209 "the living beings of the whole world", cf. above on P 2, 636. 251, 282 "sheep". 267 "to hide", cf. *Sogdica*, 33. 284 restore Reichelt's translation, "after boiling it", cf. Gershevitch, § 932.

P 5.—8 nβyy, and first 'PZY read ZKZY (with Gauthiot). 21 "z'wny (with Gauthiot). 24 rather [w]β'n[t]k (cf. *Tales*, 471, n. 4) as Chin. has 網 "net, web, trap". 28 *pwyny't* (in gloss. *pwyny't*) read *pwyny'/t*, two words (with Gauthiot). 47 "z'wny (with G.). 65 pcγrβ't (with G.). 79 "βrys'k (with G.). 90 'ws'wyt'. 94 "myt'. 95 kšytkrp = *Kṣitigarbha*. 96 γwt'w. 98 'ws'wty. 105 *wyc'w'k*, "come to witness the confession of my sins." 106 [yw] δ[rγ]wšky t'nm'n "I, this Bhikṣu of such and such name". 'wyc'wyt' read 'ws'wyt' ? 113 *prw'yt* (from *prw'c-*). 116 cf. Man. *psyp-*, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3 (see also above on P 2, 1168).

P 6.—9 *stp'δ'k*. 12 ZKw. 13 "ys't. 29 'δry is not translated. 33 "z'wny. 35 'PZYšy. 42 β in 'βc'npδyk with a hook below. 47 'YKZYn. 49, 63 p'yr. 51 *mwck'*. 54 'wyh. 62 šw'mntk. 66 pδβr- "stage" (thus here, too, acc. to Liebenthal's transl.). 78 'zy'ms'y, 2nd letter poss. damaged, meant to be "y- as in 80 ? 81 'wyh. 83 Enter *rt*y before 'ncnδst. 89 ZK. 91 γwtγwštk. 94 z't. 98 'myh. 115 ZY; *wrnty*. 127 ZKw. 130 pršt't (also comm. and gloss.). 139 *rnk''n*. 146 'sp'yn'w'y. 150 m'ytr is *maitrī*, not *mitra*. 151 *prk'yšt'yt*, corrected *pr.m.* from *pkk-*. 168 r'βyh. 179 'PZYn. 184 c'γwn'kw. 191 ZKw.

#### P 8 Colophon

166. *srδy 'my βyp'wr stny 'kw δrw'nēkndyh*. As these first words of the colophon are followed by a date of the common Central Asian kind which tells us precisely nothing (15.6 of the Tiger year), they are unlikely to contain a date too. M. Benveniste's translation, "*l'année du prince . . . , à Tuen-Houang*" cannot be correct, if only because Sogdian grammar requires that the word for prince precede that for year (cf. e.g. Reichelt, ii, 70, 34). Thus

*srδy* may be different from *srδ-* “year”; or else the scribe intended to put in a sensible date, leaving a line blank for the purpose, but forgot to do so. Neither explanation can be viewed with favour. It is something of an understatement to render *βγp'wr* as “prince”; the *βaypūr/Fayfūr* (on the origin of the term see *BSOS.*, X, 94, n. 2)<sup>1</sup> was the Emperor of China. And *βγp'wr stny* “the land of the Fayfūr” is necessarily “China”. M. Benveniste has not always recognized the value of the suffix *-stn-*, which corresponds to Persian *-stān* (see Gershevitch, §§ 122, 1118); thus *'yntwkstny* “(in) India”, P 21c, 17, is read *°st'y* in the edition and assumed to mean “*période (ou vie) antérieure*”. It is interesting to note that those Sogdians that lived in China abandoned the older name of that country, *čynstn*, which they had used in the “Ancient Letters”.<sup>2</sup>—*'my* is the locative of the *im-* pronoun,<sup>3</sup> see Benveniste, *Gramm. Sogd.*, ii, 126, cf. also Man. *my, Tales*, 476 (G 20). Hence, “. . ., in China in the town of Throana.”

167/8. 4 *kwtr'y*, read *γ'n kwtr'y*; *npt'yr* read *n'pt'yr* (also in 173). Thus the name of the gentleman who ordered the copy (not the scribe, as M. Benveniste assumes) was “Čurak, the son of Nāftīr, of the family of Han” (as stated already, *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 3). At the time when this colophon was written (eighth century ?) the Sogdians in China appear to have adopted Chinese family names; there is no trace of such designations in the *Ancient Letters*. Cf. Reichelt, ii, 70, “the lay-man Čatfārātsarān, of the family of An” (dated in A.D. 728). *BRY* “son”, cf. also *Sogdica*, 59.

169. *pčmy* = Saka *pajsamā* ? A loan-word from Khotanese ? Sogdian *-č-* may represent *-dz-* (and *-ts-*), cf. Gershevitch, §§ 71–2.

171. Here begins the long list of persons whom Han Čurak wants to share in the *punya* accruing to him in reward for the modest sum he spent on his copy of the *Avalokiteśvaranāmāśaśatakasūtra*. He expects much for very little. He wishes he could do more: “. . . that I shall not be reborn<sup>4</sup> as a stingy man, who does not give, but that I shall be rich enough to build, at my expense, a big monastery . . .” (194 sqq.), but the execution of his wishes has to be postponed to his next rebirth. In addition to the parallel passages quoted by M. Benveniste in his commentary (p. 217), one could refer to the colophon following the confession-prayer of the *upāsikā* Ūtrāt, *Uigurica*, ii, 80 sq., where *bu buyan ādgū qilīnčīy avīrar-mn* corresponds to *ywn'k pwrny'nyh šyr'krtyh ptwyδ'm*. The names of the beneficiaries are given in the dative case in Uyğur, but are followed by *δst'* in Sogdian. M. Benveniste translates *δst'* as “hand” and explains that *sa main symbolise l'appui spirituel qu'il* [= each beneficiary] *a prêté au copiste*. Could one not rather assume that the word for “hand(s)” was devalued in Sogdian in the same way as it was in Persian (and many other languages, e.g. Hebrew) ? . . . *δst'*, or *cnn* . . . *δst'* may mean

<sup>1</sup> Sogd. *βrpš-* “pregnant” (mentioned there) has been left untranslated in P 22, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *synst'n* in the Si-an-fu inscription is the Persian term.

<sup>3</sup> Care should be taken not to confuse it with *'my*, the suffixed pronoun of the first person, as in VJ. 18, 462, 524, 570; even *'myh* VJ. 689; ordinarily *-my*.

<sup>4</sup> “*zy'n*, 1st pers. subj. of “*zy-*”. M. Benveniste has a different explanation.

merely "for, to the benefit of . . .". Cf. MPers. *pā dst* 'y = "for", *Mahrnāmag*, 200, Pashto *lāsta* "direction, towards", etc.

172. 'By' should be 'BY'; *myñč* presumably the name of Han Čurak's grandfather. *'rwtprnδ'yh* and *'rwtprn-č* (175) may contain Av. *aurvant-* (here short for *aurvaṭ.aspa* ?); on *Haurvatāt-* in Sogdian see *Sogdica*, 19.

174. *mrkth* = "Emerald", see *Sogdica*, p. 26; 175 "PZY r. 'PZY.

177. *ptr'yδ'mskwn*, surely a copyist's mistake for *ptw'yδ'mskwn* ?

178/9. *βytw'č* "Gift (lit. emission) of Fortune" ? *γwt'ywrh* read *γwtzywrh*, with *-zywr-* "necklace, ornament".

181/2. *znyprn* read *nyy-prn* "having good fortune from Nanai", cf. *Sogdica*, p. 7.<sup>1</sup> *stčry* "having a hundred courses" ? Possibly *my'mnyh* (which then could be misspelling of *my'm'yh*) ?

183/4. *tytč*, rather *t'tč* (also considered in the edition). *γwt'yt* read *γwtz't*; *nnpkkn* read *nnpkrz* (-z distinguished), or *znpkrz*; both names were useful for foundlings, "Self-born" and "Shore-miracle", the last would have fitted Moses admirably.

185/6. *k's'k*, cf. *q's'nc* *Mahrnāmag*, 146, see *BSOS.*, IX, 567. *ynt'*, perhaps rather *yzt'* "divine" ? *my'δ'yh* read (*wδyh*) *m'γδ'yh*, the late wife of Han Čurak (cf. *Sogdica*, p. 7). *r'w'γš* = *\*rēwaxš* ? Cf. *rywxšy'n* *Mahrnāmag*, 100, where *ruwxšy'n* is a mistake.

186. *wk'wr* can perhaps be elucidated with the help of a so far unpublished Man. fragment, T ii D ii 169, i R 8 (Sogd. script), "δy wty' nyst wyrky rm γ'w o šrwyy pryw wkury' nyst γyδ 'rk tw' γypδ m'γwny' γw. This is rather cryptic, "With a cow the wolf has no great bother, but with a lion he has no easiness. Your position is wholly like that." Here *wkur-y'* is opposed to *wty'* "trouble, difficulty" (see Gershevitch, § 1070), hence "easiness". Or should it be "association" ?

188. Enter *cnn* before *L' ptz'n*. Here is an instructive example of the divergence which may arise when the meaning of a word has to be guessed from the context. For *pryrs* M. Benveniste suggests "*les défunts*".<sup>2</sup> In *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 3, "concubine, slave-girl" was proposed. I owe thanks to Professor Tritton for supporting my guess with a striking etymology: Hebrew *pilāgāš* "concubine", generally compared with *παλλακίς*. (etc.) "*pellex*". The word, whose ultimate origin has not been settled yet, may have been borrowed by Sogdian in ancient times from Old Persian, where foreign *-l-* was regularly replaced by *-r-* (cf. the case of *harāj* < *\*harāka* < Aram. *halāk*, *Orientalia*, iv, 291-3). The second *-r-* of *pryrs* is due to inverse spelling; *pryš* in the Manichæan fragment is the better form.

190. *'sktm* read *'sk'tm*.

<sup>1</sup> *δ'p'tsyγ*, *ibid.*, can be explained now. *syγ* appears to be synonymous with *žām* "fine". E.g. M 568, 12 *šyr syγ ptryδ* (Man. script) "mix very finely".

<sup>2</sup> Thus, *δnn pryrs* 'PZY *δnn* "z'wnt" "*avec les défunts* (?) *et avec les vivants*" (191/2), but "z'wnt" is "children". The proper meaning of "z'wn-" is "that which has been born (or re-born)", whence "child" and "anything born" "a (living) being". It is never found in opposition to "deceased". The dead also were born.



195. 'δβ'nz may be 'δβ''z and therefore represent OIran. \*θuāja-, cf. the words treated in *BSOS.*, X, 105; *Sogdica*, 32. In this case, as in many others, -' and -n- are not easily distinguished, although they are formed in different ways. As regards Av. (da)qaz-, it has been claimed for Sogdian δβ'nz " broad, thick " by M. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864, who ascribed this etymology to *BBB.*, p. 124. It is pertinent to state that in that book Sogd. δβ'nz was compared only with the noun Av. qazah- (which should reflect older \*dabqazah-) and attention was drawn to the Pahlavi translation of the verb GAv. dabqaz-, without the expression of an opinion on the presence or absence of a relation between those Avestan words. See also *Tales*, 472, n. a. The verb Av. (da)qaz- was quoted for Parthian bz-, *Mir.Man.*, iii, 897.

198/9. Preferably " by blankets (and) rugs (and) couch . . . with nursing and service " ; *rtȳ my* read *rtȳ ms* ; *šȳr'k rtȳh* (with a strange explanation, also in P 12, 18) read *šȳr'krtyh*.

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(\* = uncertain. † = wrong)

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